



A

WARNING LETTER

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE REGENT,

INTENDED PRINCIPALLY

AS A CALL UPON THE MIDDLE RANKS,

AT THIS IMPORTANT CRISIS.

BY THE

REV. LIONEL THOMAS BERGUER.

Open the door, secure fool-hardy King :
Shall I, for love, speak treason to thy face ?
Open the door, or I will break it open.

RICHARD II. ACT V. SCENE 3

THE THIRD EDITION.

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P R E F A C E

TO THE

THIRD EDITION.

THE very flattering reception and rapid sale of two impressions of this Pamphlet, and the still increasing demand, will not allow me to go silently to press with this third edition. That my principles, in this awful moment, are popular, is a source of more gratification than surprise: and while I here pledge myself never to desert them, I can only regret that my powers of advocacy are so little commensurate with my sincerity. Two events, most ominous to our threatened liberties, have occurred since my first publication of this Letter: the disgrace of LORD FITZWILLIAM, and the

AUGMENTATION OF THE ARMY. *It would ill become their importance, in a preface of this kind, to touch lightly on such absorbing considerations: I reserve them for a SECOND LETTER. In the mean time, despotism is gaining upon us with hasty strides; and the Sun of the Constitution seems menaced with a total eclipse. Yet still the saving power is in the MIDDLE RANKS: but if they hesitate and waver now, the death-warrant of FREEDOM is sealed!*

London, 6th November, 1819.

LETTER

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE

PRINCE REGENT.

London, October 18, 1819.

SIR,

FOR the purity of my motives in this Address, I refer your Royal Highness to my private letter to the MARQUIS OF HERTFORD, written while you were staying at Ragley. As one of the Million, I am conscious of my insignificance: but, in times like these, the moment an individual of respectability stands *politically* forward, he becomes of comparative importance. I will not

make a parade of modesty, and apologise for my presumption, in addressing a whole nation through such a distinguished medium as its ruling Prince : if I can command the attention which I solicit, I am of consequence, whoever I may be ; and I become one *out* of, and *above* the Million, who are listening and looking on.—I wish, SIR, that this lively sense of personal dignity animated *thousands* who are more capable, but not more willing than myself, to serve my country : I wish that they would assert collectively, as they *must feel* individually, the *superbiam quæsitam meritis*. It would lay the tempest in an hour.

Without being either an *alarmist*, or a *visionary*, I am uneasy at the present aspect of things. That uneasiness has, perhaps, already impelled me beyond the

bounds of *étiquette*, in addressing the MARQUIS OF HERTFORD as I have done; but when I see the axe lying at the root of the THRONE and the CONSTITUTION—*knowing* and *feeling*, as I do, the *danger* of delay—I repeat, SIR, that ceremony becomes *disloyal*: and that it is *the duty* of every well-affected man in the empire, if he has the most distant hope of being instrumental in averting its miseries, to burst into the presence-chamber without the formality of an usher.

If your Royal Highness has not been roused into a sense of your own, and your kingdom's crisis, it must be for want of *opportunity* to come at the truth of things. The actual state of affairs is too often hid from the Prince's eye, while it is manifest as the sun to a whole surrounding world.

THE PRESS, which, according to the use made of it, is either the bulwark or the ruin of a state, *is fallen into a deplorable licentiousness*. It is no longer the palladium of the constitution, and the safeguard of the throne: perverted, prostituted, and *paid*, it is become *the engine of revolutionary principles, and the herald of overt* REBELLION. At no period,—with safety may it be asserted,—since the invention of the art of printing, has that blessing been converted into such a curse: at no period has the dissemination of works the most *diabolical*, of doctrines the most *felonious*, arrived at such a formidable pitch! From the most polished anti-ministerial writers, down to the coarsest hireling who scribbles in a garret, the venom issues in every possible combination, adapted to all tastes, and level with all capacities.*

* This is no censure upon the present anti-ministe-

Gifted, as it were, with ubiquity, the *Protean* spirit of disaffection arrays itself in all shapes, multiplies itself in all places: nothing is neglected which can inflame, and irritate, *and deceive the people*. And is not *this* state of things alarming? And does it not call for the co-operating counter-action of all *good men*? I have already said, in my letter to LORD HERTFORD, that, without almost a miracle in politics, *except under circumstances which I will not repeat here*, things cannot regain their equilibrium. I maintain it still: and, without entering into the question of insurrectional vindication, or even at all admitting that such risings can be vindicated, I would refer your Royal High-

rials. It only shows, that *the most conscientious opposition* to a bad government will, in bad times, be distorted to the worst of purposes.

ness to the page of history, where you may see from what inconsiderable and, at first, apparently *contemptible* causes the *overthrow of* DYNASTIES and the *revolution of* EMPIRES has often supervened. “LET HIM THAT STANDETH, TAKE HEED, LEST HE FALL!”—I say this, only *in warning*: God is my witness, that I would not apply it wickedly nor insultingly to my Prince.

Some people, little acquainted with my heart or my principles, have imagined me a *radical Reformer*, catching more at *the letter* than *the spirit* of my few casual observations upon the times: but, I trust, these pages will undeceive them. No, SIR: while God continues to me the blessings of an unimpaired intellect, and a clear apprehension, I will *oppose* anarchy, and

support the throne.* Anarchy and radical reform are one: divest its horrid princi-

* “ Every body must now be convinced, that a total change, or, rather, subversion, of the present frame and constitution of Parliament, by *universal suffrage and annual elections*, can never be imposed upon this country, but through a sanguinary revolution, proceeding from the lowest and most ignorant ; and that ought to be a motive with, and encouragement to, the more intelligent part of the public to consider in what manner, and to what extent, unquestionable imperfections and abuses might be removed, which degrade the character of Parliament, and become the most powerful weapons in the hands of wicked men to expose the Legislature and Government of the country to dangerous disaffection and contempt.” LORD ERSKINE’S DEFENCE OF THE WHIGS.

I will go *farther* than the noble and learned Lord, and follow up his observation with the confident hope, and trust, that when that change in administration occurs, WHICH ALONE CAN SAVE US, no time will be lost in effecting those salutary alterations!—without

ples of the camelion cheateries with which they obtain among the multitude, and it will not find *one conscientious advocate*. But, SIR, the greater is the pity, it has *many* conscientious advocates! The mass of mankind, either incapable or careless of thinking for themselves, adopt any opinions which are pressed upon them: surrendering at discretion to the first assault upon their weak or lazy minds, the MANY are—as they have ever been—the necessary or willing dupes of the FEW. Hurried, by the most unremitting activity of the revolutionists, into the support of a system which they do not understand, or do not examine; without any premeditation or criminal design whatever, they become participators in the direst conspiracy which, the enemies of all Government will raise the old cry, that MEN, but not MEASURES, have been changed.

cy, and acquire—*almost without knowing it themselves*—a senseless and a dangerous enthusiasm in a *bad cause*. These unfortunate converts to the most damnable dogmas that ever *heralded in* a civil convulsion, constitute the greatest numerical and physical strength of the country: but the absolute and collective revolutionary *spirit* of the kingdom, in spite of its many tumultuous risings, is yet confined to a comparatively small number of individuals. But this fact does not render the face of things less threatening. We know how indefatigably these individuals are labouring in the vineyard of rebellion, and how frightfully successful they have been. If the mass of the people are seduced from their allegiance, and the last great calamity come upon us, what consolation is it, when the life-stream is ebbing, to know that the arm which brought us down *in-*

flicted the stab in error? Let us, then, neglect no opportunity to inform ourselves of *the real state of the country*, and to counteract its evil symptoms. The reduction of our great war establishments, and the stagnation of trade and employments has brought distresses upon the lower orders, which the enemies of the constitution have insidiously represented as emanating from a tyrannical government: thus imposing upon the people with a false picture of grievances, and sporting with their feelings, in order to exasperate and goad them to revenge.*

* Let not ministers imagine that they are here defended *by implication*. I have nothing to do with the *question of their tyranny*, which I leave other people to raise or to contravene:—but I am quite sufficiently aware of their *unpopularity* to be satisfied that they cannot *keep their places*. Besides, even the tyranny of tyrants may be exaggerated.

I come, now, to speak more particularly of the publications to which I have just alluded, and I do it with infinite sorrow. Language is wanting to express all that I feel and apprehend on this subject; and I much doubt if your Royal Highness is prepared to go into such a distressing detail. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that you will not receive my communication with more pain than I impart it. Are you aware, SIR, that the populous towns of this country, and the METROPOLIS in particular, are *deluged with weekly treason, at the cheap rate of a penny and two-pence a Number*—and that doctrines the most blasphemous and the most rebellious are in full circulation, *even among its paupers and its mendicants?* Are you aware, that certain writers are weekly stirring up the people to acts of *overt* revolt, and openly endeavouring to excite them, by arguments the most

insidious, and exhortations the most inflammatory and direct, to take up ARMS against the authorities of the land? Are you aware, to the full extent, of the ridicule with which they pursue your person, and the audacity with which they decry your office? Alas, I doubt it much: I know the inaccessibility of Princes to truths like these; and I fear that your Royal Highness has yet found *no* friend, sufficiently hazardous to draw the veil, and discover *the staggering reality*. When I reflect, SIR, on the incredible political enormity of the present press, I cannot help regretting that we were ever blessed with its *liberty*, since we are so cursed with its *abuse*. But I speak *only politically*.

It is one of the fatalities attending upon exalted station, seldom to perceive its danger. Shut out from the consideration of

commoner man, Princes too often misunderstand the multitude; and do not easily comprehend how it will move together, like a vast machine, by the workings and the world of passions. The hopes, the fears, the jealousies, the envy, the hatred, the ambition, the uniting and conflicting interests of *millions*, urged on by some extraordinary impulse, applying simultaneously to all, will sometimes rush together in fortuitous, but dreadful concurrence. Blind, furious, and ungovernable, the people strike all at once, like a giant with an hundred arms; and no power, till the brutality exhaust itself, can stand before that terrible automaton. These are the political revolutions which, from time to time, make playthings of thrones, and convulse the world. Not *one thousandth part* of the *mechanical operators* of a revo-

lution, have any fixed object or idea: they do not even understand their own principles of action, any more than they anticipate what can be the result of their monstrous combinations.

But, still, they all *act at once*: it is the *long pull*, and the *strong pull*, and the *pull all together*; and when this pull comes, it is irresistible. In order to effect this disastrous consummation, every wicked genius is at work; and if the circulation of the poison be not stayed, and no antidote applied, it will soon be a *miracle* to find an *uninfected* person. The great body of journeymen in all trades, and even *the labouring classes themselves* are artfully *flattered* into insubordination by the revolutionary writers.—They are told that the meanest among them *now* understands the principles of government even *better* than

some of His Majesty's Ministers.* But why this appeal to the self-love of the uneducated and sturdy, but that the demagogues calculate upon these in a trial of strength, and know and appreciate well

“ The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm ! ”

I would have your Royal Highness appreciate it too : and whet other weapons than *contempt* against a faction which is

* “ Almost every labourer in the country knows the essentials of a Government as well, or perhaps better than some of your Ministers.”—CARLILE'S LETTER TO YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

False, insolent, and disgusting as this writer is, he and his brother rebellionists have already produced a fearful impression upon the lower orders. Besides their incapability to distinguish truth from sophistry, it is very natural that they should yield an immediate and unexamining assent to propositions, which are so calculated to give them good opinions of themselves. They are assailed in every imaginable manner; and it

now become truly formidable to the throne. *For the love of God, SIR, do not misunderstand me here: I do not mean the SWORD: alas, that it has been ever used!*

But the Revolutionists have been *despised* too long: and if they are not now *fought with their own weapons*, and met, wherever they show themselves, with at least as much counteracting energy and activity, *then* is the THRONE lost, and the CONSTITUTION will go with the Throne!

Since that most unfortunate of all events, which has ever thrown any kingdom into a flame, numerous insulting letters have been inscribed to your Royal Highness by individuals of *the lowest description*. The tone is *morally impossible* for an uneducated community to withstand such repeated attacks.

of familiarity which these *ragged Reformers* affect, when they are writing to the most exalted personage in the land, may be smiled at no longer : it wears too *Robespierrian* an appearance. Already the horrid echoes of “ DEATH OR LIBERTY ” have crossed the Channel ; and, feature after feature, we are accomplishing the parallel of that sanguinary epoch.

CARLILE—who was raised into notoriety by an imprudent indictment, and who began by writing for his bread—is writing now for all that *a devil’s ambition ever dared to dream of*. Leader of the *open Rebellionists*, he exhorts them weekly to take up ARMS, and prepare for battle : he has thrown off the mask, and stands forward the TYRTÆUS of civil war. A hundred thousand people are made worse subjects every Friday by his writings : on the day of

publication Fleet-street is like a fair ; and the neighbourhood of his shop is quite impassable. The savage insolence of his letter to your Royal Highness, and the triumphant audacity with which he dares and defies you, are but too characteristic of the times. And will YOU, SIR, and your Ministers, persist in laughing at such demons, and affect to see no danger, *when you are surrounded by the greatest?* Will you be told, by a petty bookseller, *that you have violated your father's oath, and forfeited your title to his crown?*—be told so with IMPUNITY—and yet not be *alive to your danger?* Will you be threatened with the BLOCK, which you have been, both by CARLILE and other writers, in the *plainest* terms, and yet fancy yourself *too high* to be brought down, when *others* have been tumbled from the same eminence, in revolutions less alarmingly be-

gun ? If during the period when kingly prerogative was at its height in this country, and the people themselves far less *essentially free* than they now are—if, I say, during that period, the refusal of one private gentleman to pay twenty shillings to the crown could light the fire of a destructive rebellion—with what a sadly greater *plausibility* might the like, or even *worse excesses*, originate in a RECENT OCCURRENCE ? But I dare not write upon this subject: it has already been made the blazing torch to enkindle mischief through the land, and I will not add fuel to the flame.

It is *the danger of the Throne and the Constitution*, for which I am trembling more and more, that impels me to address your Royal Highness ; and if I shall make

YOU, SIR, sensible of that, which hitherto you have appeared to disregard, my duty is performed: whatever may result hereafter, I shall sleep with a clear conscience. But can it be *possible* that you are still unconvinced, and indifferently meditate a continuance in *the old track*? Are you so blinded by prejudice, and so confident in miscalculated resources, that you deem yourself inviolable, and these invincible? Has your Royal Highness then overlooked *the appalling link*, by which a wounded self-love has connected some of OUR MIGHTIEST NOBLES with the most contemptible of the RADICAL REFORMERS? I do not mean to assert, SIR, that these nobles are, themselves, *revolutionists*: but the example of *their identification* (no matter for what purpose) with a set of men, who are only bent upon *blood*

and *plunder*, is pernicious beyond imagination, and runs like an *influenza* through the people.*

I will not particularize names : but there is *an unbroken chain of disaffection*, running upwards from the lowest to

* Since writing the above passage, I have thought, in fairness, that I should say something explanatory ; it being far from me to impute unworthy motives to any of the Noble Personages at whom I glance.

It is the *overt patronage* of such characters, under such circumstances, not the *actual relief*, that I blame. MINISTERIAL TYRANNY must be every where resisted : no matter *who*, nor *what* the suffering party : *our business is to resist oppression*.

The rights and liberties of a whole people may be, and often are, involved in the interests of unworthy persons. But while we extend a helping hand to such individuals, we should keep back the dangerous SANC-TION OF A GREAT NAME : lest our *intervention* be construed into an *approval*, and our *act of specific justice* into an acquiescence in principles that we abhor.

the highest in this empire, which cannot escape even the dullest observer. And with this graduated scale of treason before our eyes,—is the present a time to tamper and procrastinate? Good God, SIR, I shudder when I look forward to events; knowing the heart of mankind, as I do. For, if we analyse the most bloody and disastrous revolutions, and apportion back to each individual *his separate share in the whole collective enormity*, we shall only find human nature taking its natural course, and the catastrophe assuming a complexion rather of *coincidence* than *crime*! It is not the enthusiasm of one demagogue, nor the frenzy of another which would singly suffice to shake the foundation of a state like ours; but the bad co-operation of every malignant passion and intriguing spirit, when by some fatality they receive an impetus which puts

them all into simultaneous motion. *Even when this is given*, if we understand its principles, we can arrest the mischief by a timely *counter-application*, before the wheels have got into their full play, and the dreadful machinery is propelled by its own weight.

Precisely such, SIR, at this moment, is the situation of the *Political Engine*. It has not yet attained its blind force ; but one touch upon the wrong side, would bring it down in thunder upon us ! The PRESS has had an influence upon the lower orders, of which those, who are too far removed to observe it, can form but a faint idea. The people are entirely changed : loyalty and religion are not only exploded, but *laughed at* ; and the most undisguised *hatred* of the government, and *expectation* of its downfall, are nightly

expressed in almost every ale-house in the metropolis. Even the very beggars in the streets are growing insolent at the prospect, and remind recusants that the time is at hand when they will cease to beg, and take forcible possession of their own. Dustmen and porters read and discuss politics; and labourers, journey-men, and masters speak *one language of disaffection and defiance*. I am not charging the picture,—I am rather within bounds.

And now, SIR, cast your eyes over the districts, and observe the people rising in all directions. See the unions that they are forming, the clubs that they are organizing, the correspondence that they are establishing, the resolutions that they are passing. See the women lay aside their softness, and *unsex* themselves, to sail in

the storm of rebellion: hear their speeches on the hustings, and their dreadful vows to educate the rising generation in implacable hostility to existing forms! Look at the *caps of liberty* and the *flags of death*; and when you have coupled all these features together, and contrasted them with what preceded the explosion in another country, will your Royal Highness still maintain that we are *groundlessly alarmed*?

The extra-metropolitan press has become inoculated with the same contagion; and the dissemination of revolutionary doctrines, blasphemy, treason, and anarchy, receives a geometrically increasing *impetus*, from the accession of new apostles constantly flowing in. Thus, the gathering snow-ball of rebellion rolls on, making its vast collections. If it be not

impeded and dispersed by the rising of the great middle class of the community, who, from some unaccountable infatuation, have hitherto been the passive spectators of its progress, the links of society are dissolved :—the ruinous globe, with all its cumbrous accumulations, will come down with a *desolating weight* upon the throne and the constitution, and we shall **ALL** be buried in the tremendous *avalanche* !

But my object, SIR, is to awaken your Royal Highness to a sense of your own and the country's danger: not to shake you, nor it, with an unprofitable dismay. If ever there was a time which imperiously called for all good men to show themselves, and to rally round the standard of **REAL FREEDOM**, in opposition to its **FALSELY PRETENDED BANNER**, it is

now. Now, when *the Radicals* are gaining an accession in strength and numbers, in a proportion almost too rapid to calculate:—*now*, when every thing that is dear in our social, and fair and beautiful in our moral and political economy, is sapped even to its very foundations!

Do not fancy that I am amusing your Royal Highness with the coinages of imagination: I am no croaking terrorist; and, unhappily for us, my statements are not exaggerated. But that all these horrors

* The increase of the disaffected is almost beyond belief. In the *Northern Counties alone*, to say nothing of the *Metropolis*, and other parts, I am credibly informed that upwards of *four hundred thousand able-bodied men are ready to assert the Cause of Radicality, with arms in their hands!*

Let this be remembered, when I come to speak of the RADICAL PRESS.

which I am anticipating, and which I would *counteract*, if my voice might sound like an angel's trumpet through the land, and rouse the middle classes—are the natural consequences of a DEPRAVED PRESS, cannot be too much insisted on. It is susceptible of a proof, even to demonstration, that the people have been corrupted by *the press*; already they are more than half revolutionized; and if they are seduced into the last great felony, it will be less their fault than their misfortune.

Hoc fonte derivata Clades

In patriam populumque fluxit !

I wish to inculcate, as much as possible, the necessity of examining the question in this way ; because, it is only by an analysis of this kind that we can mount up into the first elements of our troubles, and

concert what may best dissolve them.*

A great many people not accustomed to considerations of this nature, fondly imagine that the quantity of political pervers-

* The most inveterate and corroding disease to which free governments are subject, is a *perverted press*. But as in the natural, so in the political body, we must direct our operations against the *cause* of the mischief, if we hope to accomplish a cure. It is only by rectifying the *mistakes*, and removing the *abuses* which afford a pretext and a *plausibility* to sedition, that we can strike any effectual blow at the plague itself.

Neither threats, nor bribery, nor any, nor *all* the combined expedients and resorts of tyranny, can ever put down a PRESS, which, however dissolute, is *essentially* free; and, I cannot help observing, that *one* grand and prime mistake has been, the *frequency*, as well as the *rancour* of ministerial prosecutions, which have made the press the *hydra* that it is.

Government has been making mountains of mole-hills, until at last the mole-hills have become really mountains!

sity in this country is not adequate to the production of disastrous consequences : but if they had followed, as I have, our *state-epidemic* from stage to stage, through every variation of the disorder, up to its present alarming *access*, they would better understand the *CRISIS* at which we are, and prepare for its inevitable results.—Does not the very fact, SIR, of this appeal from a private individual to your Royal Highness, argue that the times are altered, and that men's minds are fevered? When have you been so appealed to before? The King was addressed by Junius, in a memorable manner, but if Junius were living now, he would write much more remarkably to you!

When I look at all the revolutionary phenomena — *the Radicals* arming, and exhorting to arm—and the allegiance of

half the nation hanging, as it were, by a single thread, — and, turning from this contemplation, behold your Royal Highness indifferent, almost to madness, about your own and the kingdom's security, I can with difficulty forgive my Prince his *suicidal* apathy!—Attached, affectionately attached to the Throne, whatever convulsion may overtake us, I will be *the last* to forsake your side; but in the sincerity of this very feeling, SIR, my *right* to a free remonstrance is undeniably founded. Remember, this is not the language of a *courtier*; but of a man less fearing to offend, than anxious to point out your danger.

I have spoken just now of inevitable results: I mean, SIR, by that expression, the REBELLION *which is going to explode*. The metropolitan press and rebellion,—under the present system, at least—are natural

cause and *effect*; and if your Royal Highness or your Ministers, have any remaining doubts upon this subject, they will soon be *deplorably removed*. Things have reached their climax: but a REVOLUTION will either be prevented, or induced, according as the MIDDLE RANKS bestir themselves during the REBELLION. If your dependence is placed upon your ARMY alone, for the suppression of a general insurrection, your expectations will be disappointed. It is idle to suppose that the army will draw a single sword against the collective sense of the nation. Whatever may be the DUKE OF WELLINGTON's sentiments, (and a rumour is gone abroad, that his Grace's voice in the Cabinet *turned the scale*, on a late interesting division, where it was no glory to turn it!) he will not find his troops so ready to obey him,

when the charge is against *British bosoms*, and the word of command the signal for a *general fratricide*. The reapers will not go forth to such a *Cadmæan* harvest!—Besides, the men themselves are no longer the same individuals that they were four years ago, flushed with conquest, and inebriated with blood. Peaceably domiciliated among their friends, they have all this while been gradually *collapsing into their civil character*; and to a great degree, they have become amalgamated with the people. The press, also, must have had its necessary influence upon them; since a principal branch of its circulation has been running among their immediate relatives and connexions. So that they cannot have escaped its contaminating effects, any more than the people; although their habitual subjection to command, and their

ideas ever reverting to discipline, would naturally hold out a longer siege against the incursions of the poison.

On no military movement, then, unsupported by the great class of the MIDDLE RANKS, can your Royal Highness place the least reliance, or hope from it the smallest advantage. Our salvation is in OURSELVES alone. We must effect the best issue that we can, to a contest no longer avoidable; and I hope, SIR, we shall not be slow, in this tremendous crisis, to rally round *the fairest political edifice that ever yet human ingenuity raised up, and mankind admired!*—I could place in a yet stronger light, SIR, the futility of trusting to your soldiers, without the countenance of your people: but, I think, I have done it sufficiently.

With a beating heart, I am now going to touch upon a subject, which, when I sat down to address your Royal Highness I had determined not to disturb: but my feelings carry me away. I have heard, since I began this letter, that it is the fixed resolution of Ministers to make no concession upon THAT point. But it will be at their peril, SIR, so to disregard *the voice of the people*, and to confound it with *radical clamour*.* The Government, and those

* Although a mixture of jealousy and caution may be remarked in the following passage, it breathes *too determined a resolution* to vindicate the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE, to be silently overlooked. Will Ministers call THIS WRITER, also, a *Radical*?

“ If, in the repression of any meetings of the people for any object of Reform, *wise or impracticable*, their rights have been infringed, or any wrongs to individuals have been committed, I shall be amongst the first to vindicate every redress which the laws can sanction, and shall be found at all times *ready to resist the slight-*

ever was asked, or expected, might *now* be conceded in vain. There is a bone of contention between the people and the Government, about which—with the exception of the interested parties—there is but *one prevailing opinion*: and however the timid, and those who hate extremities, may be disposed to sacrifice against their consciences, the MULTITUDE is *too much irritated* ever to listen to *any* accommodation, short of *the most signal justice*. The pertinacity with which Ministers continue to refuse this, has brought all the mischief to a head: but it is a moral impossibility to elude it long.

I will not trust myself with any remarks upon the temerity of your Royal Highness's advisers in that business, nor the precipitancy with which their advice was followed. We absolve YOU, SIR, altoge-

who judge it, are at issue upon many points, the carrying of which would be of much more lasting political importance and benefit to the country: such are triennial parliaments, for instance, which I spoke of to LORD HERTFORD; and the disfranchising of such boroughs as *Gatton* and *Old Sarum*, and such obnoxious anomalies as *Corfe Castle*; together with one or two other of the desirable *delenda* of moderate reform.

But all this, and *ten* times more than *est encroachment upon the national freedom*. In such a case, mistaken opinions, or the grossest misconduct of individuals, ought to have no kind of effect TO DISAPPOINT PUBLIC JUSTICE, nor to prevent the union of all classes to uphold the vital security of our liberties. I am not at all acquainted with the details of this interesting and affecting subject, but in whatever shape I can be called upon to consider them, I SHALL BE FULLY PREPARED TO DO MY DUTY."

Preface to the Defence of the Whigs.

ther, for your impeccability seals our lips : Besides, we have a thorough conviction that the act was not your own. But the cry of the nation is too general, to be *impunely slighted*; and the sooner your Royal Highness dissolves partnership with *the present Men*, the safer will it be for you, and the better for your people ! Let me not be misapprehended for an instant : I only speak in the anxiety of attachment ; those who are not acquainted with the *radical press*, as I am, can form no notion of the *daring threats* which are weekly levelled at your person and your life. To see and hear these, *and be silent*, would be compromising treason.

If Administration, SIR, had only met that UNHAPPY ACCIDENT in a manly manner, or if they would even do so now, and evince a disposition to conciliate instead of

to domineer, it is incalculable what miseries they might spare the country. But I have received such intelligence lately of their determination to persist in this alienating conduct, that I look with the most despairing hopelessness at these obstinate and haughty men. They are the *Jonases of the political storm*: but I would recommend them to leap over-board, and swim for it, rather than wait for the deliverance of the whale. Or do they laugh to scorn the bitter hostilities which their own imprudence has provoked, alike misappreciating the powers of an offended people, and the influence of a rebellious Press? They would be reckoning without their host. But, surely, if they are as well informed, as they *ought* to be, of the vengeance which is daily denounced against them—unless their *Oliners* and their *Castles* have lulled them into a false security—they

hitherto declined to interfere between the Government and the Radicals, would declare themselves at once, and strangle Rebellion in its birth.*

It did not form any part of my original plan, in this appeal to your Royal Highness,

* Let me not be understood as advocating ARMED RISINGS, or military associations among the gentry. They are not to be resorted to, *under any pretence whatever*; and do but the more endanger the liberties, which they affect to defend. It is one of the *extremest* symptoms of an *incurable state-malady*, and the immediate forerunner of a *political dissolution*.

Nothing but a *general madness* ever produced a *civil war*, where there existed, *as there does in this country*, A THIRD PARTY STRONG ENOUGH TO TURN THE SCALE.

The *wealth*, the *talent*, and the *respectability* of the nation, have only to make ONE UNIVERSAL CIVIL MOVEMENT, and they may dictate to the *Oligarchs*, and put down the *Anarchs*!

must begin to feel the necessity of providing for their escape.

It would be unimportant, SIR, to insist upon the simple fact of their *unpopularity*, or even their *inefficiency*, if the hatred which has been engendered by their mismanagement would fasten *only upon themselves*. But it has lit up a feeling of blind and furious resentment, incapable of making nice distinctions between *the employer and the employed*; and which, in the first burst of its impetuosity, may unhappily forget that “the King can do no wrong.” Your Royal Highness then, should separate from this fatal cabinet, which does but magnify your danger, and widen the breach between you and the people. The great mass of patient spectators, who are known to be well-affected to the Constitution, but have

intended mainly to rouse you from your apparent apathy, to speak so plainly of the Crown-servants.—Neither is it in bitter-mindedness, but from conviction that I condemn them:—a conviction, SIR, founded on something stronger even than their *official inadequacy*—THE DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST THEM. This determination it is in vain to resist: no people can be governed against its will. I am not speaking of the Radicals now, but of the whole collective nation: and if, *contrary to its sense and its will*, your Royal Highness allows them to continue *by terror of arms*, there is no calculating the extent of the bloodshed *which is sure to follow*. The spirit of freedom, SIR, is not repressible in English bosoms: and if ever an ARMED OLIGARCHY arise among us, though the people may bear its iron yoke for a time, they will eventually wrest the sword from the hand of their oppressors.

A great many arguments might be adduced to prove that your Royal Highness can no longer associate with your present Ministry, without being held responsible for its proceedings : the disgrace and the danger will be reflective. But for monitory purposes, enough.—“ It must always be,” says LORD ERSKINE, “ a most hazardous conjuncture, when a powerful and populous nation is driven to resort, for its security, to the principles of liberty *in the pure abstract*, without being able to refer to any precedent in its own history for safe guidance and direction.” We have reached this hazardous conjuncture ; and we are standing upon the verge of a precipice, down which—owing to the *intemperance* of a few individuals, and the *injustice* of a few others—if we do not *rally* and *unite* on the instant, we shall be dashed with an exterminating

violence by the hand of anarchical Reformers.*

The secession of Ministers, and the interference of the MIDDLE RANKS, can alone save us from destruction. Let Ministers, then,

* Using, so frequently as I do, the terms *Reformer* and *Radical Reformer*, I have one observation to make, in justice to a large body of men, whom I should be sorry to misrepresent: I mean, the more violent, but *conscientious* ADVOCATES of a *root-and-branch* remedy, in which I cannot acquiesce.

Yet, with whatever objections I may regard their *theory*, and however I shall not cease to deprecate *evulsive* and *extirpatory* measures; I would on no account mix *them* up with those *revolutionary demagogues*, whose object is too plain to be mistaken.

Ultra-radical is the nicer meaning of the term; and in that sense I desire its acceptance, whenever it occurs coupled with bad principles. For it applies only to those *merciless and Spencean innovators*, whom I shall shortly present in their own colours.

make *a virtue of necessity*; for, if they will not go out of their own accord, the whole country will rise up, and *demand their dismissal*. They have forfeited the confidence of the people; and to continue them in place after this forfeiture, will not only be *of personal peril to your Royal Highness*, but it will endanger THE VERY POLITICAL EXISTENCE OF THE THRONE ITSELF.

THE END.

POSTSCRIPT.

STATE OF THE RADICAL PRESS.

THE incredible circulation of seditious writings among the lower orders *all over the kingdom*, the dangerous avidity with which they are caught at by the simple and uneducated, and the undeniable general ascendancy and popularity of anarchical principles, is one of the worst features of the present times.

That I may not, however, be thought the disseminator of needless alarms, I shall now proceed to give a few *Extracts* from the writings of the Radical Reformers; from which it will sufficiently appear whether, or not, we should be *justified*, in viewing the proceedings of such men with indifference.

If I, for one, were not satisfied that the mischief is now *ripe for bursting*; and that we must look our danger in the face, or be blotted, and that speedily, from *political existence*; I would have kept back the revolting picture! But we must not deceive ourselves, nor *be deceived*, any longer.

If the following exposition does not *alarm the Middle Ranks into a saving attitude*, there is no hope that any

eloquence can rouse them from their devoted apathy : but they must *die* on the *thresholds* which they have not the *spirit to defend* !

EXTRACTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE RADICAL REFORMERS.

“ Indeed, Mr. Editor, AT THE FALL OF OUR TYRANTS, we must have a far more extensive *rummage into social rights*, a more general search after *national property*, than Mr. Cobbett seems willing to talk about, (though I do not suspect that it is out of any regard for, or to leave himself at liberty to make terms at any future period with *either faction*) at that time; however the “ REGIMENT,” or their supporters, may twist about or curvet, however THEY may cry aloud, and bellow conspiracy, treason, rebellion, and “ *flagrant civil war*,” WE know WHO the rebels have been against the MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE, *their rights, liberties, and property*; —WHO have mulct them of the wages of hire, and reduced them to a worse than Egyptian bondage, and that have kept them so for twice four hundred years.

“ We must look into the coffers of the descendants of our forefathers’ oppressors for plundered wealth; we must look at the land-leviathans’ hoards, extorted by excessive rentals charged upon their sweating industrious tenantry;—we must examine title deeds; we must know by what right, social, natural, or divine, they became possessed of one or other part of the property they hold; and should they rend the air with their wailings after any unjustly accumulated store, still at a breaking up of an

accursed system of exclusion and privilege, JUSTICE MUST BE THE ORDER OF THE DAY. They may cry aloud to the property-mongers, the Mammon worshippers of the land, and the town and country gentry, that cling round the falling system, as the miser hugs, in the agonies of death, the precious darling gold to his breast, and thinks that the only source of happiness; but it will not all do: if these show any disposition to join the unhallowed band, to "*fight for their property*," as a rich man (a mistaken patriot) once said they *would*, they must even *share the fate of their companions*. If they *will* tempt the PEOPLE after oppressing them, the despots will only have themselves to thank for what they may suffer; as they *had* an opportunity *upon moderate terms* to prevent the punishment submitted."—MEDUSA, No. 10, Vol. I. p. 74, 75.

"It would be worse than madness; it would be a *felo de se* of liberty, and an act of despotism to unborn thousands of millions of the human race, at a breaking up of a system which supports a horde of *great and petty tyrants*, to dispose of the national property which then would *fall into the PEOPLE's hands*, again in *perpetuity*, amongst the then existing inhabitants of the land—it ought to remain national domain.

"No, no; friend Cobbett, I *now* believe, would not agree that *any one* should be allowed to *cater or carve for the people*, if when plenty comes before them, THEY would *eat sparingly*."—MEDUSA, No. 11, Vol. I. p. 82.

"But why do I say *royalty*? Is there any *charm* in the name? 'Tis *sickening*; and when we reflect on a great nation submitting to be governed BY IT, I cannot help

exclaiming *O tempora ! O mores !* When this system is abolished, and liberty and equality instituted in its stead —WE SHALL THEN BE FREEMEN AND NO LONGER SLAVES.”—MEDUSA, No. 26, Vol. I. p. 208.

“I send you the above as a sample of ROYAL PLUNDERERS (the seven sons of his Majesty !) and hope that the eyes of the people will soon be open sufficiently wide to discover the cheats practised on them by THAT INFERNAL TRIO—KINGS, PRIESTS, and NOBILITY !” —MEDUSA, No. 32, Vol. I. p. 256.

“If ever it was the duty of Britons to resort to the USE OF ARMS to recover their freedom, and hurl *vengeance* upon the heads of their *tyrants*, it is *now*.”—DEMOCRATIC RECORDER, No. 1. p. 1.

“With respect to the charge of inflaming the minds of our fellow-countrymen (*not fellow-subjects*, for recollect, Sir, that the People of this country are subject to *nothing* but the laws which have been justly enacted,) I, for one, and perhaps one of those alluded to, am proud of the charge, and feel it a duty to *stir up the oppressed* against their oppressors, for in that situation do I conceive the People of this country to be placed, with respect to their rulers, by usurpation ; and to express my opinion, that NO MEANS can be considered TOO DARING, if prudent, to effect such a *laudable purpose*.” —THE REPUBLICAN, No. 5, Vol. I. p. 68, 69.

“The time surely will come, when we shall have an opportunity of bringing justice on their heads, or, was it not for this hope, *I, for one*, should deem it prudent to

execute it *in a summary way*, as they do their villainous acts, WITHOUT REGARD TO THE LAW."—THE REPUBLICAN, No. 4, Vol. I. p. 51.

"An opportunity has been offered you, Sir, to make yourself eminently useful in rescuing man from his present degraded condition; you have neglected that opportunity, and, in so doing, *you have degraded yourself in the eyes of all good men*, and you will finally become, what many Princes have been before you—THE VICTIM OF MISRULE."—THE REPUBLICAN, No. 5, Vol. I. p. 71.

"In short, *until a reformation takes place*, your Royal Highness cannot rise in the morning with a certainty of retaining your authority till night!"—THE CAP OF LIBERTY, No. 3, Vol. I. p. 35.

"We would therefore caution the inhabitants of England *not to slumber on their posts*; but if an attempt be made to wrest from us these our remaining Liberties, and that attempt be sanctioned by the PRINCE, to immediately prove to the world that the spirit *which conducted a CHARLES to the scaffold*, may again be successfully exerted to subdue a more *deliberate*, and consequently a MORE GUILTY TYRANT!"—IBID. p. 38.

"Thus we see that nothing is to be expected unless by a manly *Declaration* throughout the Country, that the People will no longer be the dupes of a set of *rapacious villains*, and that if the ——— sanctions their attempts to swallow up in the whirlpool of a military despotism, *the imprescriptible rights and liberties of England*, he forfeits the respect which is due to his high official situation, and

must shortly expect, *not only to resign his authority*, but also to appear AT THE BAR OF HIS COUNTRY, to answer the charge of HIGH TREASON against the PEOPLE. We must once more express our marked dislike and disapprobation of the word *subject*, which is but another term for *slave*; and yet there is scarcely an Address from any of the Public Meetings of the Reformers, that has not at every other line, "HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS." This is so extremely *servile*, that we most earnestly recommend the Reformers *to drop it altogether*. We really think, after weighing every thing attentively in our mind, that the *sine qua non* must eventually be a resort to — on the part of the People; and the Juror would be a TRAITOR TO HIS COUNTRY who would say that the PEOPLE in such case *were guilty of treason!*

"If the Prince continues to heap wrongs and insults upon the people when they ask for redress, who are supporting his whole family by the sweat of their brow, *as paupers upon the nation*, he must expect to see, ere he closes his eyes upon the world, A — ELEVATED UPON THE PALACE at WHITEHALL!"—THE CAP OF LIBERTY, No. 6, Vol. I. p. 95, 96.

The *Radicals* have here witnessed for themselves; and does their testimony require a comment? It is not the simple overthrow of Government that will satisfy these men: they must have a *general partition of private property*:—universal, indiscriminate, relentless PILLAGE!

I could multiply these extracts *ad infinitum*, but I have answered my present purpose. The "BRITON," from which I have not quoted, and the "MEDUSA," directly advocate *assassination*: and the *whole catalogue*, which I annex, breathes the same levelling and revolutionary

spirit. They hold *one creed* of BLASPHEMY, TREASON, and PLUNDER !

The “ REPUBLICAN ” alone, is supposed to average, weekly, from *sixteen to twenty thousand copies* : all its *fellow-prints* have a most extensive and *hourly increasing sale* ; and new publications, *advocating the same principles*, are constantly starting up.

Shocked, fatigued, and disgusted, I throw aside my pen, but *not* my anxiety :—to resume it ere long, if the *importance* of my present communication shall not be disregarded by THE COUNTRY.

*List of the principal Metropolitan Weekly Publications, which advocate Blasphemy, Treason, and Anarchy.**

1.—THE MEDUSA ; or, Penny Politician. Established thirty-five weeks : DAVISON, publisher, 10, Duke-street, Smithfield.

2.—THE THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL COMET ; or, Free-thinking Englishman. Thirteen weeks : SHORTER, publisher, 49, Wych-street, Strand.

3.—THE LONDON ALFRED ; or, People's Recorder. Nine weeks : DAVISON, publisher, Duke-street, Smithfield.

4.—THE BRITON. Four weeks : TURNER, publisher, 170, Aldersgate-street.

5.—THE REPUBLICAN. Eight weeks : CARLILE, publisher, 55, Fleet-street.

* I will not attempt to present the public with a *Catalogue Raisonné* of these writers : it would occupy too many pages. The “ *Gorgon* ” has been discontinued ; but the “ *Deist* ” and the “ *Black Book* ” appear every fortnight. The interjectional notes, in this latter work, are of *unparalleled atrocity*.

I have abstained, in the foregoing pages, from any remarks upon our *financial embarrassments*, absorbed as I have been in the contemplation of our *civil difficulties*. But the two together present an AWFUL PICTURE ; and ought to unite all good men, in the great work of NATIONAL SALVATION and REFORM!!!

6.—THE RADICAL REFORMER; *or, the People's Advocate*. Five weeks: MASON, publisher, 21, Clerkenwell-green.

7.—THE DEMOCRATIC RECORDER, *and Reformer's Guide*. Three weeks: DOLBY, publisher, Strand.

8.—THE CAP OF LIBERTY. Six weeks: DAVISON, publisher, 10, Duke-street, Smithfield.

9.—THE WHITE HAT. One week: TEULON, publisher, 67, Whitechapel High-street.

A
SECOND
WARNING LETTER

TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
PRINCE REGENT:

INTENDED PRINCIPALLY
AS A CALL UPON THE MIDDLE RANKS,
AT THIS IMPORTANT CRISIS.

BY THE
REV. LIONEL THOMAS BERGUER,
LATE OF ST. MARY HALL, OXFORD.

Come, come :
I love the KING, your father, and YOURSELF,
With more than foreign heart.

PERICLES, PRINCE OF TYRE. ACT IV. SCENE I.

You have misled a Prince, a royal King,
A happy gentleman in blood and lineaments,
By you unhappied and disfigured clean.

RICHARD II. ACT III, SCENE I.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. AND J. ALLMAN,
PRINCE'S STREET, HANOVER-SQUARE.

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A

SECOND LETTER

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE REGENT.*

SIR,

IN a period of awful difficulty, it is the misfortune of your Royal Highness to be surrounded with inadequate advisers. Every day brings a fresh proof of their

* I have become, as it was easy to anticipate, the subject of censorious remark, on account of my profession; and *prejudice*, with a loud voice, has *voted me* a CLERICAL ANOMALY.

But I shall not make any very laboured defence

B

incapacity ; every day does but plunge them, more and more, into an inextrica-

against a charge, preferred principally by bigots, or old women. To me, my COUNTRY and my RELIGION are *both dear* : and I trust, that I may *serve* the one, without *dis-serving* the other.

Those, however, who imagine that my *religious principles are lax*, because I carry free manners into society, and avoid *hyper-sanctity* in externals, *materially misunderstand my character*. Moreover, it is notorious enough, if I desired *precedents* for my present course, that I could fortify myself with plenty :— *but why should I?*

POLITICS are an essential branch of PUBLIC MORALS, and, as such, I assert the RIGHT of all CLERGYMEN to interfere ; nay, more, it is their DUTY to do so, whenever, by such interference, there is any chance *that they may serve the State*.

But the CLERGY are sadly too dependent upon the GOVERNMENT, that these examples can ever become general. In many instances, I grieve to say, a *poverty*

ble dilemma. And yet, they still cling to power and emoluments with a *leech-like tenacity*, determined not to let go the skin of the state, while a drop of blood remains

—which is less *their* reproach, than the *nation's*—and in many others, *cupidity, sycophancy, and ambition*, drag them close at the chariot-wheels of PATRONAGE. Some would speak out, but *dare* not; while others, who might *afford to be honest*, slavishly follow in the march of DESPOTISM, for the promise of its spoils.

Thus the CLERGY, who are the *constituted guardians* of PUBLIC MORALS, almost always become consenting to, and too frequently abet their depravation!!!

If there be any thing, in this momentous crisis, which ought to recommend my *Letters* to my COUNTRY and my PRINCE, it is *the sincerity of spirit in which they are written*. Grateful shall I be, if, through *my* feeble instrumentality, the MIDDLE RANKS may be made aware of their consequence, and interpose *before it be too late!*

to gorge them in its expiring agonies. It is hard to say whether their weakness or their wickedness bears the palm ; in the mean time, we are about to be sacrificed to their mal-administration and frenzy.

The object of my former letter, SIR, as it will be of this also, was to rouse you to some sense of your situation, at this imminent conjuncture, and at the same time, forcibly to impress upon the **MIDDLE CLASSES**, whom I am addressing through your Royal Highness, the necessity of making an universal movement against the despotism, which will otherwise too certainly overwhelm us all.* Ab-

* It is most important, that the term **MIDDLE CLASSES** should be well understood ; as it is used throughout this appeal, not to designate *the little gentry, and men of moderate fortune merely*, but **ALL THOSE**,—of whatever rank or station, — who are *intermediately placed* between **MINISTERS**, and a *disorderly and disorderly*

sorbed in this contemplation, I have not yet, it is true, proposed any specific

dered RABBLE : in short, the whole respectable and independent population of the country. It cannot be too strongly insisted on, that the undoubted power of national salvation resides in THEM ; and, what is of greater consequence, that they will not long be left in possession of this power, if they neglect to use it now.

NOW, OR NEVER, IS THE TIME.

They must assume, all at once, that only formidable and defensive attitude, *which will paralyse the nerves of tyranny ;* and while they simultaneously register their *awful protest* against a MISGOVERNING FACTION, they must demand, with a VOICE OF THUNDER, which will not brook refusal, *a new guarantee for their much violated constitution.*

All this may be effected, *without the shedding of one drop of blood ;* but the blessed and golden moment of *prevention*, will be soon past for ever !

Why, then, does not some high and distinguished PATRIOT, emulous and worthy of the honour and

remedy ; and, as I now find that this is pretty generally expected of me in the present letter, I shall go into some of these considerations in a brief postscript upon Reform : not as redeeming any pledge, *which I have never given*, but to evince my disposition to meet, *fairly and candidly*, such a momentous subject. For hitherto, I have been too tremblingly alive to the danger of my own liberties as a subject, *and to your menaced political existence as a king*, to think of much beyond the grand

glory to save his COUNTRY and his PRINCE, step forward in this eventful crisis ?

A NORFOLK, an ALBEMARLE, or a THANET, would be a *rallying point* for the nation ; and he might present, *with the whole nation to back him*,—a NEW BILL OF RIGHTS *for the signature of the Prince Regent*, such as the late monstrous infractions of the old CHARTER imperiously require : thus at once *re-establishing* the THRONE, and *guaranteeing* the CONSTITUTION.

preliminary object, *of making all parties aware of their situation.* This effected, the might and talent of the awakened country will do the rest.

And God be praised, SIR, it is fast awakening. The astounding intelligence of EARL FITZWILLIAM'S removal, and the augmentation of the ARMY at the same moment, have left no longer a doubt of the design of Ministers to enslave the people. The naked and undisguised despots ring, then, the war-whoop of tyranny through this land of freedom! The CHAINS of ENGLAND, then, are already FORGED,—forged, too, by her *constitutional defenders!* “MEAN DESERTERS” of a sacred TRUST! “FALSE GUARDIANS OF A CHARGE—TOO GOOD!”—Yes, SIR, I repeat it, the *chains* of ENGLAND are already *forged*; but it is another thing to *rivet them* on such noble limbs: FOR HER FREE JOINTS

ARE NOT USED TO FETTERS, AND THEY WILL BURST ASUNDER IN THE FASTENING!—From one end of the kingdom to the other, all ranks are now planning their deliverance: they are now, one and all, convinced that there is no alternative between abject slavery and effectual RESISTANCE: resistance,—constitutional and *unarmed*,—but firm, universal, and *terrible to unlawful power*. Your Royal Highness has but a faint notion of the race you govern, if you think that *bills of indemnity*, and new suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus*, (now again audaciously meditated,) will silence the general cry for JUSTICE, or put down the spirit of freedom, which now pants indignantly in more than *ten million bosoms*. Your lawyers may prosecute, your ARMIES may encamp, and your ministers cram the dungeons of the country with their thousand victims: but the *system*, SIR, *is at its last gasp*, and

they will perish on the precipice, down which they would hurl the people.

But the *borough-Machiavels* have surpassed themselves: there is such an excess of infatuation in their attempted disgrace of EARL FITZWILLIAM, that one can only refer it to the heaven-inspired madness which precedes destruction. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*—That LORD FITZWILLIAM, of such known suavity of manners, and purity of principle—so mild in his *politics*, as well as *nature*, that he obtained the epithet of *alarmist Earl*—that LORD FITZWILLIAM, possessed of a LANDED STAKE in the country, greater than the *united estates* of the whole CABINET-HYDRA together—that *such a man should become the object of ministerial jealousy, on the score of revolutionary views, almost exceeds belief*—But in the person of this venerable nobleman, to in-

sult the collective consequence and wisdom of England, and trample upon her rights and liberties, alike patrician and plebeian, is no such a safe experiment. I am confident, SIR, that your Royal Highness never recommended such a measure, and that it is a fresh abuse of that delegated authority, which, if you would be held *blameless* and *harmless* by the people, you must transfer speedily into other hands.* There is a point, in despotic

* To say nothing of any great general convulsion, during which your Royal Highness would be very dangerously situated, I beseech you to recollect the diabolical and dark spirit of revenge, which characterises the disaffection of the *Ultra-Radicals*. This is one of the *ugliest features* of the times, as far as regards those who fill employments, invidious in the vulgar eye; and in estimating the tone and temper of the present *Rabble-Reformists*, too important to be *lightly overlooked*. Were it not, indeed, too frightful for the calm speculations of *philosophy*, the inquiry would be

governments, beyond which even kings themselves cannot transgress with impu-

curious, *how far a people*, the BRAVEST and most MAGNANIMOUS upon earth, might be convertible, *by a grinding tyranny*, into a nation of assassins !

I have already stated the *bloody creeds* of the "MEDUSA" and the "BRITON;" and I submit the following dreadful passage, as a farther illustration of the principles of these writers: principles, let it be remembered, of which I can *prove*, to an alarming extent, the nightly and daily dissemination, *here* in the very *heart of the government*.

"It remains yet, however, to be tried whether the House of Commons will be so totally lost to every principle of honour, as *to screen murderers from justice*. Let them recollect that the sufferers on the 16th of August will CONSIDER THEMSELVES, (if the laws of their country be closed against them) JUSTIFIABLE IN ASSASSINATING the parties concerned in the outrage. They will imagine that *no honest jury* could in such a case declare them *guilty*, and in this idea WE SHOULD MOST CORDIALLY COINCIDE WITH THEM ! Let them also recollect, that if ASSASSINATION once commences, it may become

nity ; an intolerable *writhing-point* upon the rack of nations, when but one more turn of the *torture-screw* will sublimate into terrible revulsion the wholesale mass of abject servility and deluded suffering. TYRANTS themselves reverence this point, because they know that, to pass beyond it, were the certain destruction of their tyranny. History, in all ages, does but illustrate this remark. How much more forcibly, then, does it apply to a *limited monarchy* ; where, although the king claims by lineal descent, the crown is a

THE ORDER OF THE DAY, and no human foresight can determine *where it will end*. *Every person who gives his vote in favour of a Bill of Indemnity, becomes AN ACCESSARY TO THE MURDERS, and ranks himself amongst the enemies of the people—the DAGGER of the ASSASSIN becomes THE SWORD OF JUSTICE in the hand of the PATRIOT, and however secure in fancy, it may reach him when it is least expected.*—CAP OF LIBERTY, No. 9, vol. i. p. 143.

badge of sovereign obligation, and compact goes hand in hand with inheritance! God forbid, SIR, that in our days, the people of ENGLAND should again have occasion to exercise their already *historically-proved right of resumption*; but the fierce and arbitrary measures of the present administration too dismally forebode this catastrophe, or *something very nigh bordering upon it*. And is your Royal Highness still so *blinded* by their misrepresentations, that you fondly imagine this state of things can continue? Is the *obsession* of your royal person so complete, that you cannot see what is passing beyond the *garrison*? Miserable situation,—when a monarch's ears are closed against the cries of his subjects by intervening tyrants, and the loud voice of public reprobation cannot rouse him, — *because it cannot reach him!*

But this barrier, which oligarchs have raised between their Prince and his people, will not long withstand the tempestuous tide of all ranks, *rushing to demand an audience*: and if it be not removed with a *dexterity*, equal to the *insolence* which interposed it, it will be dashed to atoms *before the wrath of offended millions*. The whole kingdom, SIR, is in motion: all classes, alarmed into activity, are springing up to defend their liberties. An Englishman does not readily part with these: he knows the invaluable privileges secured to him by the CONSTITUTION, and he is prepared to shed the last drop of his blood, rather than forego the blessings of his inheritance. It is astonishing that ministers do not perceive the feeling which their mal-practices have excited; or that, *seeing*, they still dare to persevere. It is as if they wished to make an experiment

upon the forbearance of the country, and try the *ne plus ultra* to which they might push their tyranny. But there are bounds to all human endurance.

Let us now, SIR, examine how the last two acts of excessive power have been received by the people, and your Royal Highness will then be better enabled to form a judgment of the crisis at which we are: for you cannot rise from that examination with *unopened eyes*. As both the dismissal of LORD FITZWILLIAM, and the increase of our Military Establishment were announced to the public in one and the same breath, so we shall not separate them here, but consider them as *operating together*, to produce that expression of feeling which has universally resulted; and which is *a surer guide* for the judgment of your Royal Highness than all the bustling and blind loyalty of a host of GOWERS

and PERCYS, marshalling their dependents to arms.

On the 22d of October, the Treasury prints made known to the nation these unexpected and startling arrangements of ministers; and on *the 24th*, one of the most moderate and independent of our noblemen, conspicuous for his warm attachment and great *personal and pecuniary services* to the CROWN, took the alarm, and stood aloof from such a dangerous co-operation. This nobleman, SIR, who, to use his own words, “*raised a corps of infantry during the late war, and subscribed, in various instances, to other corps, for the protection of his country against a foreign enemy,*” refused to sanction with his NAME, or support with his PURSE, a local ARISTOCRATIC CONSPIRACY against her liberties. Ministers, and the tools of ministers (as, no doubt, they have done already,) may

brand this temperate and constitutional conduct with the epithets of revolutionary and rebellious; and denounce, as such, to your Royal Highness, one of the most disinterested and *tried friends* of his Sovereign. But if the nation is to be revolutionized, the people may take God to witness, it is not *they*, but their *rulers*, who have done it:—their RULERS, SIR, whose tyrannic encroachments upon their *chartered rights*, and *repeated violation of their most sacred and recorded privileges*, are verging daily to that awful point, beyond which is only consternation and explosion!

If we look for guidance to the examples which history hands down, we shall perceive, that in all ages and all countries, revolution has been the *effect of misrule*: and that *no* conspiracy, not quite ridiculous as to its aptitude and extent, was ever

formed under, or excited the uneasiness of a *good Government*. But the conscience of *guilty men* is a keen alarmist; and if ministers are thus preparing for the *offensive*, it is because they know they have OFFENDED. The country is not up in arms against the Government, but the Government is up in arms against the country. The SWORD OF DESPOTISM is *bared against the people*; and it is this frightful contemplation that holds in a neutral or precautionary attitude all those *who are not essential tyrants themselves*. — Among these ranks the patriotic EARL OF GROSVENOR, who finds his own county *peaceable*, though it has been denounced *rebellious*; and sees no danger to the throne, *but of the ministers' most wanton creation*: the better to counteract which, he throws *his great weight into the balance of an outraged people*, and dissociates himself from a *junto*, whose fatal measures are calcu-

lated to overwhelm *that very* CONSTITUTION, which they are so clamorously affecting to uphold; and to engulph *that very* THRONE, which *nothing but their pseudo-loyalty* has placed in jeopardy!

Is it wonderful then, that *we* of humbler station should take the alarm, when such men as EARL GROSVENOR are beginning to stand on the defensive? Is it not time, SIR, for the *Middle Ranks* to betray their anxiety, when even PEERS tremble for their freedom?

It may be objected to all this, that there is not one word in the celebrated Letter of LORD GROSVENOR to the County Magistrates, upon either of these obnoxious measures. This is nothing at all to the purpose, or rather it makes a stronger case against the government, which, even *unexaggerated by these flagrant excesses*, al-

ready wore an aspect *sufficiently unconstitutional*, to justify his well-founded apprehensions. But, SIR, there can be no manner of doubt that these measures had their due influence upon the spirit of LORD GROSVENOR'S Letter; and although, with that mildness and moderation so peculiarly his own, he *characteristically* forbears any direct mention of the circumstances, *who* is ignorant *where* he points, when he deprecates "EXTRAORDINARY ARMING," and "EXTRAORDINARY LEGISLATION?"—So, SIR, do *nine tenths of the country*: so do *all those*, who have not an absolute SHARE in the *tottering tyranny*, or a private interest in its prolongation!

But in the county of YORK, whose powerful aristocratic importance and territorial consequence *may not lightly be set at nought*, what has been the effect of these proceedings? At once *locally* insulted,

as well as *nationally* aggrieved, its indignation and disgust have not been satisfied with *mere expression*: but its MAGISTRATES are *soliciting to be dismissed from their thankless duties*, and its YEOMANRY CORPS, *men and officers, are tumbling asunder!**—

* Captain MARMADUKE WYVIL, of *Burton Hall*, in a spirited letter to LORD GRANTHAM, *has resigned his commission in the York Hussars*; and his example has produced a great sensation among the non-commissioned officers, and privates of that regiment.

J. R. G. GRAHAM, Esq. of *Netherby*, almost immediately afterwards *resigned his cornetcy in the same regiment*. The sentiments which both these gentlemen express, in officially tendering their resignations to LORD GRANTHAM, do honour to the best feelings of humanity as well as patriotism. They will no longer consent to hold commissions, the bare retaining of which, under the present arbitrary system, might infer a tacit acquiescence in its unconstitutional proceedings; and subject THEM to the horrid liability of being ordered out, to do ministerial vengeance upon an un-

It is now, SIR, that your Royal Highness may see my remarks upon the subject of armed multitude, under the pretence of suppressing riots!

MARTIN STAPYLTON, Esq. of *Myton-Hall*, in the same county, has expressed, in a letter to LORD FITZWILLIAM, upon his recent dismissal, *his deep and strong condemnation of such violent measures, and his desire to withdraw from the insulted magistracy of the Riding.*

Also, J. C. RAMSDEN, Esq. of *Newby-Park*, in the same county, has addressed a most important letter to VISCOUNT LASCELLES, the ministerial substitute for the discarded, *but immortalized, Lord Lieutenant.* After resigning into his Lordship's hands the commission, which he had long held under EARL FITZWILLIAM, of *Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Commandant of the First Halifax Regiment of Local Militia*, his high tone of tempered and protesting patriotism deserves to be given in his own words.

the ARMY beginning to be *sadly verified*: and however your ministers may affect a

“ I should hope it could be hardly necessary for me to disclaim all personal feelings; and to assure your Lordship that, as I have hitherto *held those commissions with pride under LORD FITZWILLIAM*, so I should have done with equal satisfaction under your Lordship, did not recent occurrences, and AWFUL MILITARY PREPARATIONS give me *reason to fear*, that instead of sincerely inquiring into the complaints *and redressing the wrongs of the people*, and thereby conciliating the irritation that exists in the public mind, IT IS THE INTENTION OF THE PRINCE REGENT'S MINISTERS TO SUBSTITUTE POWER FOR LAW; in which case, I conceive it possible that your Lordship, as well as your deputies, *may be called on to execute tasks, at once foreign to your Lordship's disposition, and hitherto unacknowledged, if not UNKNOWN to the British Constitution.*”

He concludes, with these *emphatic words*.—“ Let us trust, that we shall never see ENGLISHMEN *allow their*

light-heartedness at this contemplation, it is an outrage upon common sense to deny

country to be turned into a barrack ; or the CONSTITUTION, under which our lives and liberties have been long preserved, overawed by a MILITARY DESPOTISM !"

I have just time to notice, at the end of this note—I lament to say, hurriedly as I go to press, in a way not at all commensurate with its importance—the interesting *Meeting of the Inhabitants of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, held at WAKEFIELD, on the 18th, upon the subject of EARL FITZWILLIAM'S removal. The whole assembled rank and respectability of *the Riding* was there : and where so much patriotic feeling, and eloquent and emulous affection were displayed, it might seem almost invidious to particularize. The speeches of Mr. RAMSDEN, LORD STOURTON, Mr. SMYTH, M.P. *for Cambridge*, and LORD ALTHORPE, will go down to their descendants, *with the history of the county of York* : but there are some *electrical bursts*, in the speech of LORD STOURTON, as applied to EARL FITZWILLIAM *in particular*, and to the times *generally*,

the certain effect of these examples. Nevertheless, I am not ignorant that, so long as the DUKE OF YORK continues to countenance administration, they will have at their command a greater or a less quantity of bayonets, as the case may be more or less flagrant, to enforce their first tyrannous decrees:—though I confess it has never yet entered into my calculation how far that frank-hearted and generous Prince would lend himself to the bloody arbitrament. Be that as it may, the *issue of such an arbitrament* could never be doubtful for an instant; although in the outset of such a contest, the tremendous odds of the *bayonet* against the *plough-share* might stay the slipping foot of DESPOTISM for a season.—What am I writing? Is there then a *cause* for these frightful anticipations, that

worthy to be inscribed IN LETTERS OF GOLD.
*Long may he live to speak, and often, if he speaks
 always thus!*

I half recoil from the picture which I have drawn, and startle at my own language to my SOVEREIGN? Alas, *yes*: one too cruelly apparent, too universally acknowledged:—*the rising spirit of* RESISTANCE, *provoked by* MINISTERIAL OPPRESSION! If I did not feel, SIR, for the situation of your Royal Highness at this moment—feel *acutely* and *affectionately* too—I should smother these burning sentiments in silence; and leave *the great Battle of Liberty* to be fought and won—careless, because confident of its issue—without any mediatorial effort. But I love my Prince too sincerely, *not to dare to be his friend, when greater friends are falling from him*; and if I can spare any BLOOD to my country, I do not care to be *chary* of my own.

I need not particularize to your Royal Highness all the meetings which have taken place throughout the country; so

universal has been the burst of popular feeling, and so notorious its condemnation of ministers.* It is true, they have been

* Moderate but firm in his language, and anxious and alarmed at the unconstitutional array of Government, the infraction of our laws, and the violation of our liberties, LORD EBRINGTON, in a letter to the *nobility and freeholders* of his county, dated on the 13th, refuses to sanction the *miscalled* "LOYAL DECLARATION" of *Devonshire*: which, in fact, has no feature of fairness or publicity about it, but is a servile ministerial address, *privately got up at Exeter*!—"I trust the time is not yet come," observes the noble Lord, "when *even an over-jealous anxiety* to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND, can be generally misconstrued *into an apology for blasphemy, or a defence of sedition.*"

But the time *is* come. Look at the dismissal of LORD FITZWILLIAM, for daring to countenance the people in the exercise of their RIGHT OF ADDRESS TO THE THRONE: the time *is* come—and the LIBERTIES of ENGLISHMEN survive only as a SHADOW, or a NAME!

met, in almost every district, by a *packed band of COUNTER DECLARATIONISTS, chiefly*

The EARL of ARUNDEL, in a letter to *the High Sheriff of Wiltshire*, has distinguished himself by a similar dissent from the Requisition of that county: *proving incontrovertibly*, and with much moderation, that in assuming *that the tribunals of the country are open to the Manchester sufferers, and that the laws are in their due course of administration*, THE REQUISITIONISTS ADVANCE A FALSHOOD.

Lieutenant Colonel KEEN, *Commandant of the Staffordshire Yeomanry Corps*, has thrown up his *commission*: and it is reported, that that promising Nobleman, LORD ANSON, to whom his country is already looking with admiration for his independent conduct at *Stafford*, has resigned his *Majority in the same Corps*.

G. B. GREENOUGH, Esq. has also *resigned his Lieutenancy in the City of Westminster Light Horse Volunteers*.

Do not all these *letters, protests, and resignations*, speak more *awfully* to the state of the country, *than could a thousand volumes!*

composed of place-holders, or place-hunters, the slavish advocates of passive obedience, and non-resistance : but you are too well acquainted with *state-chicane*, to suppose, for an instant, that these *creatures* speak the sense of the nation. *Berkshire*, however, and *Cornwall*, *Herefordshire* and **NORFOLK**, stand high on the *muster-roll of liberty* : and if every avenue to the heart of your Royal Highness be not *inaccessibly barred*, the affecting and indignant speech of LORD ALBEMARLE must have touched the chords of a thousand sympathies. “ During twenty-six years of my political life, and it has been an eventful period—I never saw,” said that patriotic and spirited peer, disdaining to varnish the *damning fact*—“ A REVOLUTION SO NEAR AT HAND !”

What, SIR, if it should burst upon us ? Do you calmly wait for that terrible ex-

plosion, in the plenitude of ministerial and regal power; and wantonly meditate to put it down, with your eleven thousand and six hundred *additional soldiers*? Remember the banished STUART, with the KING of FRANCE to back him: and rest assured, that neither foreign intrigues, nor foreign ARMS—*much less his own, when it is come to that*—can ever avail a Monarch against the *withering patriotism* which hurls him from a forfeit throne.—Far, very far, be it from me, to reflect upon your Royal Highness: you *have been* a popular Prince, and many *endearing recollections* still vindicate you to our fond attachment. I only spoke to show the *reed* upon which *power* leans, when it is divested of *popularity*.

It was the misfortune of the first CHARLES, *to be the son of the first JAMES*: I mean, SIR, to inherit, with his father's

crown, *his father's over-bearing notions of the Prerogative*. This was the ultimate ruin of that high-souled Monarch ; whose irreproachable morals, and exemplary discharge of every social and religious duty, have secured him the *respect*—even amid the *blame*—of posterity. It has been the *good fortune* of your Royal Highness to be born in more favourable times, and educated under more liberal auspices : when the *infallibility of POPES* has been scouted as an *absurdity*, and the *inviolability of KINGS* is an *exploded doctrine*. PATRIOTS were your first companions. From THEM you received your earliest impressions : the chosen champions and children of LIBERTY *taught your young idea how to shoot*, and with THEM you drank, in the morning of your life, the freshening draught of unadulterated freedom !

Yet, with all these advantages, there is some parallel between the *decline* of your life, and the *beginning* of Charles's: a parallel the more to be lamented, because CHARLES was *an hereditary slave to prejudice*, but YOU have *surrendered YOUR judgment at discretion*. Arouse, SIR, from this dangerous lethargy. Whatever may be the *secret compact*, whatever the HOLY ALLIANCE, to which your *ambitious ministers* have made you *an unconsulted party*, cast off the disgraceful trammels, and prove *that you are, in truth*, the SOVEREIGN. Show that you are not to be made the creature and the tool of *blind DESPOTS*, at least *a century behind* in their calculations upon the *march of freedom*; and who will no more succeed, in this enlightened period, in their projects against the liberties of EUROPE, than the present *impotent Cabinet-faction* of ST. JAMES'S will be able to put a *handcuff*

upon the wrists of ENGLAND! Alternately in and out of favour, your Royal Highness has had more opportunities of regaining your popularity, than any Monarch who has yet reigned over us; but *never* one so promising,—so bright as the present. Turn round then from your bad advisers, and stand forward the FRIEND of the PEOPLE. Let the world see that the fair impressions of your childhood have been *obscured*, but not *effaced*; and that the blighting and blasting UPAS of tyranny has *overshadowed* but *not extinguished* the pure and genuine principles of liberty which the PRINCE of WALES imbibed!

If my language, in some sentences of this letter, should appear strong, believe me, SIR, my *feelings* are far stronger. Superior to common motives, and careless of personal considerations, I cannot

disguise my uncontrollable anxiety at the sight of my country on the *verge of a revolution*, and my Prince *on the brink of destruction*. Your ministers have made war upon your people. Your people pray for a redress of grievances, but their intercepted complaints *never reach the throne!* Drunk with excessive power, a lawless OLIGARCHY interposes its dark body between YOU and the nation, and *holds in eclipse* the healthful countenance of the SOVEREIGN.

In the mean time, SIR, *Englishmen* are beginning to look about them, and to ask how far these insolent *minions of misrule* shall yet be tolerated? A STANDING ARMY, whose illegal extent, in time of peace, was never known to our fathers, has just been *yet more illegally extended*. CORPS OF OBSERVATION reconnoitre in their *native counties*, and the free cities

of ENGLAND are garrisoned with, and AGAINST, her own children. She has no rights, now, *which are not at the mercy of the bayonet*: she enjoys no privileges, *but by military sufferance*. A strange bugle plays the *death-song* of her constitution, and wakes unnatural echoes on the hills of liberty.—But, SIR, the dirge of *freedom* is the dirge, also, of the *throne*. Slavery may be enacted, but it cannot be *established here*: and in the dreadful reaction of millions, all flying in their confusion *to the last argument of a free people*, the DIADEM would be *overturned and buried!*

These are awful considerations; and the more they are dispassionately revolved, the more correct will this view of things appear. Yet, greatly as I sympathize with your Royal Highness, I am far from daring to hope that my sympathy

will touch your heart, even should the voice of my expostulation find its way to your ear. And in this, perhaps, circumstances are more in fault than you. But I am standing upon a great *arena*, conspicuous to my country, and to the world: and the **MIDDLE CLASSES**, in whom there is an inherent *power* of salvation equal to your own, *are awakening at my call*. There is this difference, however, *in favour of a popular movement on the part of your Royal Highness*, that it would be effected without that general *ferment and agitation*, inseparable from the interference of a large body of the people. But if you will not come to **THEM**, the time is fast approaching, **SIR**, *when they must go to you*.

I have already hinted at a **NEW BILL OF RIGHTS**. As it is material, in a suggestion of this kind, not to be *misunder-*

stood by any party, I shall now state more specifically what I intend by this *additional guarantee*. I mean simply, SIR,—*A distinct recognition from the throne of the indefeasible rights of ENGLISHMEN, in these alarming times of invaded liberties and insulted laws: and a new RATIFICATION of all those codes, charters, and bills—by which we hold such indefeasible privileges—under the SIGN MANUAL of your Royal Highness.*

Do not be startled, if I go into a solemn examination of the expediency of such a measure. Far from intending any personal disrespect to your Royal Highness, I am consulting what is most for *your* advantage as well as *the people's*, and I speak out in the sincerity of my attachment. It is always, however, in the contemplation that your present Ministers will endeavour to keep their places with the SWORD,

that I suggest this remedy. For if they surrender the helm of Government *into the management of other hands*, we may, perhaps, altogether dispense with such an exaction; and your Royal Highness escape—certainly, at least, *until we have tried the new pilots*—from a predicament so unpalatable to kings. But there can be no hesitation in the preference of this firm, but *constitutional proceeding*, to the violent *reform* of the vulgar, which would bring with it universal consternation; and in which *you, SIR*, would be left at the mercy of fierce *expulsionists*, or even *regicidal anarchs*.

In the event, therefore, of a blind obstinacy on the part of Ministers, to continue in power against the will of the people, and BECAUSE it is self-apparent, that *no despotism or force-government* will ever be endured in ENGLAND, but must infalli-

bly conduct to *certain bloodshed and general disorder*;—I PROPOSE—as well for the putting down of an *intolerable tyranny*, as for the prevention of its *calamitous alternative*—THE FORMAL AND POPULAR DEMAND OF A NEW SECURITY FOR THE CONSTITUTION. In this demand, SIR, if your Royal Highness only knew *half the extent of your peril*, there would be no fear of your ready acquiescence: and I see *no means*, in the present extraordinary state of things, which would *so effectually* avert the desolation, which seems impending upon both parties. I mean, *the King and the people!*

Ministers may affect alarm at *the novel doctrine*, and accuse ME of revolutionary designs: but I stand immoveable, SIR, upon the *firm basis* of my known attachment to the THRONE—which I would fence from disaster, and to the CONSTITUTION—which I would keep untarnished. Be-

sides, it shall be my care to be too circumstantial, to leave *them* any such handle of attack.

It is agreed on all sides—those only dissentient, who have done the mischief—that there have been, from time to time, *since our memorable alteration of the dynasty, in 1688*, repeated and unwarrantable departures from the Constitution: but in *no* administration, have these departures been carried to such a flagitious and criminal excess, *as in that of the present men*. The dangerous tendency of these departures is as universally admitted; and if NO NATIONAL PROTEST be entered against such a ruinous system of *discretionary deviation*, it is *as undeniable*, that we shall soon have *no right, liberty, nor law remaining, which may not be suspended, or even ABOLISHED BY PRECEDENT*.

NOW, SIR, as well to vindicate from future violations *the birth-right privileges of Englishmen*, as to prevent that state of *political disorganization*, into which a SELF-ERECTED DESPOTISM, sooner or later, *must* plunge the country,—it is clear that *no remedy* has ever yet been devised or discovered, offering, in any degree approximating to this, the great *desideratum* of *efficiency* combined with gentleness. For it would shock no party in the state, but be a *bond of union for all*: and in this manner,—*by one single dash of the pen*, might all animosities be healed, all abuses rectified, *and the canker-worm eradicated from the core of the government, without producing a single pang!*

I do not mean to recommend that, in modern days, we should enact the same solemn pageant, and go the compulsory lengths of our *baronial ancestors*: it is not

yet come to that. Besides, JOHN was a *tyrant*, while you, SIR, are YOURSELF *the dupe of tyranny*: and I am persuaded that it would only require your *conviction of its necessity*, to reconcile you perfectly to *so desirable a measure*. But rather than *passively expect the revolution*, into which ministerial excesses *would goad the nation*,—a REVOLUTION, in which massacre, and plunder, and anarchy would rear their unsightly shrines through the land, over the ruins of all that is fair, and dear, and beautiful,—*who is there*, that would not unhesitatingly advocate THE WHOLE EXEMPLARY SOLEMNITY OF A MODERN RUNNIMEDE? For the *question*, SIR, would be reduced to this:—whether, *in our love for the monarchy*, shall we do *a kindly and saving violence to the THRONE*, or leave it to be *utterly extinguished, by the demons of civil discord*?

And here, I cannot refuse to pause for an instant, to point out to your Royal Highness the immortal glory which you might acquire, — *above all contemporary diadems*, — by coming forward voluntarily in this hour of trouble, *to pacify a provoked people* with such a magnanimous, and *trebly precious*, because *unextorted* — pledge! All other triumphs would fade into insignificance, before the beauty and splendour of that action, so honourable to your heart and head. You would take your place, *high among the benefactors of your country*: and the *tangible* and *living* acclaim of MILLIONS would consecrate you *to unborn gratitude, and applause in ages to come*! — The more I reflect, SIR, upon your relative situation with the people, the more unaccountable, at this interesting moment, appears to me *your dangerous indifference to the national welfare*: and when I vainly look for those generous

and patriotic tendencies, which signalized your entrance into early life, and distinguished even *your maturer manhood*, I cannot help believing that it is not by *fair means*, that so fair a promise has been *overturned*.

The not inconsiderable danger, with which the country was till lately threatened, by insurrectionary appearances,—now only subsiding for an instant, *in the breathless expectation of what course assembled Parliament will pursue*,—and the still pestilentially working poison of the *radical press*,—although of themselves considerations for the most serious alarm, *sink into nothing before the appalling prospect of a MILITARY DESPOTISM*. For a tyranny in ENGLAND,—if a tyranny be ever permitted to establish itself at all,—*is sure to be followed by anarchical revulsion*. They will keep their relative pace together, *with*

the precision of effect and cause; and I chill with horror at the *political chaos*, which already seems yawning beneath us !

In the event of so deplorable a consummation, *I*, for one, SIR, would never remain to uphold,—*no, not even to witness the birth-pangs*—of the *brutal democracy*, which would supplant the ALTAR and the THRONE. My soul would not stay to be disgusted—my sight would not brook to be polluted—*with a spectacle so monstrous in ENGLAND*: and the dissolution of that political FABRIC—whose unequalled beauties and perfections, I want words to express how I admire and love—would be the signal of my voluntary banishment.

But if the spirit of the *old English gentlemen*, who may, with strict propriety, be called the FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION, be not entirely departed *from their*

tame descendants—if there *be* among them, who are worthy of that LORDLY ANCESTRY, which repressed a far more licentious and formidable tyranny than *we* should have *now* to combat; and, in legislating for themselves, did not forget to make *the poor* equal participators in the commonweal:—IF, I say, *such a patriot* can yet be found among the PROCERES of his country, but whose *high rank*, in these degenerate times, would be *his least distinction* — LET HIM STAND FORWARD NOW!

For, at least, *we will not surrender our rights without a struggle*: Ministers must be *worse than madmen*, if they dream of such an *easy conquest*. No matter what their *corrupt majorities*; no matter what *their momentary triumphs over the people*, in a mock Representative Assembly, composed of *discretionary despots*. The *larum-*

bell has been rung: and the MIDDLE RANKS are getting up, like the lion from his sleep, majestic and terrible in their anger. Be upon your guard, SIR, I conjure you; and without an instant's delay, *oppose yourself to the fatal extremities, which a weak and violent Cabinet are meditating in your sacred name.* They would make their PRINCE *the scape-goat of their iniquities*; but I beseech your Royal Highness to beware. Already they have brought YOU *and the monarchy* into a situation of unexampled jeopardy; and if you do not immediately separate yourself from their ruinous councils, *I shudder at the certain consequences of such an identification with your people's enemies.*

Indulge no longer, then, in a *visionary security*: you have been *deceived*, SIR, and do not *know the truth*. Instead of increasing a military establishment *already*

beyond the laws, disband the excess which our CONSTITUTION *ignores*. The artillery of foreign war *was never meant for such unnatural service*. Return to an affectionate people, *who will receive you with open arms*, and who are willing to believe you—to the last—a PRINCE *more sinned against, than sinning!* You never had so bright, so glorious an opportunity!——

In the *intensity* of my love for my COUNTRY—in the *fervour* of my devotion to the THRONE—I make this supplicatory, *this solemn appeal*. You are standing, SIR, *upon the verge of* REVOLUTION:—do not dare that RUBICON of kings.

London, 25th Nov. 1819.

THE END.

POSTSCRIPT.

*Concerning Parliamentary Reform, as a Remedy,
and the Mode by which alone it is obtainable.*

EMPTY declamation upon existing grievances is not useless merely, but hurtful to the public weal. I trust, however, that it was not necessary for me to agitate the present subject, in order to escape from that charge: but that, as well in *this* as in my former Letter to the PRINCE REGENT, enough of tangible and substantial matter will be found, to vindicate me, in all candid opinion, from the imputation of *frivolous or pernicious meddling*. That writer, who opens the eyes of a whole people to their political danger, cannot be said to have written *in vain*, even should he stop short of a remedy: for, *the periclitation proved, the periclitant will save himself somehow*.

The diseased and dangerous state of affairs is admitted on all hands: *and one identical remedy—one remedy alone*—though with a great many modifications according to particular individual views—is *proposed by all*. This remedy is PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. One point, then, and that a *material one*,

is gained : namely, *unanimity as to identity of remedy*. But upon the quantity, and shape, and time proper for application, there have existed hitherto as many different opinions, as conflicting interests. It is, however, essential, that the great body of the community at large—so crying is the national emergency—should no longer be divided upon *mere forms* ; but come instantly to a *mutual compromise*, for the sake of an *universal benefit*. Niceties and punctilios are out of place, *when a whole people is upon the threshold of annihilation*.

There are two ways of obtaining the proposed end : we will first consider the obvious and ordinary proceeding, *by petitioning Parliament*. And here, I confess, *in limine*, that I can no longer conscientiously recommend so discouraging a measure. What has been said *to the many thousand petitions* which have been laid on the table of that *honourable House*—in a greater or a less influx—during the last 50 years ? Have they been ever READ ? Notoriously not. To what purpose, then, shall we persist *in worrying ourselves, and irritating the vulgar mind* with Meetings, that do but increase the public agitation, without ministering to the State's disease ? We have not made the least *approaches* to a remedy ; *we are as far from it, as we were 50 years ago ; and the high pulse of Corruption has not been diminished a single beat*. Away, then, with the *brainsick expedient*, and all the painful solicitude of USELESS PETITION. We are only *laughed at*.

But there is another MODE of obtaining redress, upon whose necessity, as well as efficacy, I have ex-

patiated in the preceding pages — THE DEMAND OF A NEW SECURITY FROM THE THRONE.

The question must be brought to *this issue* ; and that *immediately* ; or matters will take a fatal turn : *districtus ensis super cervice pendet*. If the whole nation be not *supine*, even to its own destruction—if it be not *fascinated into stupidity*, by the *basilisk eye* of DESPOTISM—*now—now let it SAVE ITSELF*.

“ A moment we may want,
When Worlds want wealth to buy :—throw years away ?
Throw EMPIRES, and be blameless !”

Having thus far submitted to the *Middle Ranks*—whom I am always addressing, and who are, *in point of efficiency*, the PEOPLE—the principle upon which they may effect their own salvation, it is inconsistent with my original plan to go farther. Let them only keep in view the *indispensability* of coming forward *without a moment's delay*, if they have any love left for THEMSELVES—the CONSTITUTION—or the THRONE : for the *undermined EDIFICE* is tottering to its very foundation, and if the THREE PILLARS which support it be not immediately strengthened and repaired, they will COLLIDE, and fall upon us !

The abused and unrepresented people of ENGLAND have been too long deluded with *vain shadows*. Year after year they have waited, with patience and long-suffering, for that *voluntary reformation of the House by its own Members*, which, it is now evident, they are too corrupt ever to promote with sincerity. Their only re-

maining refuge—their last hope—is SELF-DELIVERANCE. And who is there, that would basely *die the political death* which threatens him, rather than recur to this constitutional and manly principle? *Not one*, I will venture to say, who is not *an essential slave in spirit*, and sunk in the lowest depths of irredeemable degradation.

The excesses of Government, civil and military, have their origin in the unconstitutional materials of which the House of Commons is composed: for, as the votes of *the Majority* are indispensable in all matters of legislation, it follows that the MINISTER could never pass any tyrannous or *bad laws*, or carry *oppressive and unjust bills*, without a SUBSERVIENT MAJORITY, who—for some valuable private consideration, always well understood—*venally lend themselves to his profligate and corrupt views*.

The *existence*, therefore, of Ministerial Tyranny, *demonstrates* the *impurity* of the REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM: and, as it is an undeniable position, that *that House*, in its unreformed state, will never side with its *reputed Constituents* against a MILITARY DESPOTISM—it is *as clear*, that the PEOPLE must now betake themselves *to their own exertions*. I see no other means, unless Ministers immediately let go the helm, of preventing a REVOLUTION. And even in so desirable an event, unless their successors shall *not only manifest a disposition*, but volunteer a DISTINCT PLEDGE, immediately upon *coming in*, to set earnestly and unaffectedly about the work of Reform—to *purge the threshing-floor*

of the State—I would on no consideration abandon the ARGUMENTUM AD DIADEMA.—Let this be urged *respectfully*, but with *dignity*, by DELEGATES,* whose high rank, known and tried loyalty, and territorial possessions would render the purity of their views unquestionable, and keep Suspicion AT ARM'S LENGTH. It would be all effective.

As to any *plan*, or specific *scheme*, for a REFORM—considering that I look so *hopelessly* at the ordinary mode, by which it is attempted to be brought about—it would be foreign to the object, and exceed the limits of this *Postscript*, to go into such a detail as the subject would demand. In the hope, however, that it may not be considered altogether impertinent, or useless, we will take a hasty survey of the *coasts* for which we are to make, and the *shoals*, *rocks*, and *quicksands* to be avoided.

That extravagant, but *conscientious* theorist, Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM, has said somewhere, in his *Reform-Catechism*—"I AM NOT FOR CASHIERING KINGS." But the *unmixed democratic ascendancy* which he would INTRODUCE—I hope he will pardon the term, for such *sheer democracy* is against the very essence of the CONSTITUTION—would very soon save him the trouble. Mr. BENTHAM, out of a pure love for the old shape of the building—a mere *antiquarian conceit*—would leave us a

* PEERS!—HOLLANDS, for example, and GREYS: GROSVENORS, ANSONS, and FITZWILLIAMS:—Hereditary Counsellors—Constitutional Advisers of the CROWN. *Let me not be misunderstood.*

KING, and a HOUSE OF LORDS : that is, *they might have a nominal existence in the state, by sufferance of the House of Commons.* He first proves, no doubt very satisfactorily to himself, *the perfect inutility of these two branches of the legislature* ; and then supposes the *paradox*, of an almighty DEMOCRACY *equally convinced of their uselessness*, but good-natured enough to furnish a *civil list* for the maintenance of unprofitable show. This is absurd. Such a DEMOCRACY would swallow up the other ESTATES of the realm ; and is incompatible with that *admirable balance*, which—in spite of Mr. BENTHAM's ridicule—maintains their harmonious equipoise, and keeps them ever operating in mutual check and mutual concert.

As Mr. BENTHAM's *democracy*, therefore, is plainly repugnant *to the spirit of the CONSTITUTION*, we must disallow whatever is equal to its production ; and, particularly—*set our faces against annuality of parliaments, and universality of suffrage.* This would be a tyranny of the people over the House, which we could even less endure, than a tyranny of the House over the people. But neither tyranny is endurable.

TRIENNIALITY is a *safe landmark*. Members, holding their seats for only *one session*, could not, from obvious considerations, serve their constituents *in any permanent case*.

But we must hasten to the great purulent ULCER of the state—the BOROUGH SYSTEM. This ought to be cut up, root and branch : *Whig and Tory proprietors*—they should all *disgorge*. Let them have a compensa-

tion. If you cannot *otherwise* exterminate,—*compromise* ; but GET RID OF THE BOROUGHs.

Mr. BRAND's (now LORD DACRE) appears the most recommendable, *as a whole*, and the *least* generally objectionable, of all the *plans* which have yet been proposed, *for reforming the REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM* : and his accession to the peerage at this interesting moment—when his voice would be raised so loud against corruption, and his labours so essentially contribute to our salvation—is a positive national misfortune.

Mr. BRAND would *disfranchise all the proprietary boroughs*, and confer the right of returning members upon *the populous non-represented towns*, carrying any surplus to the large counties ; an arrangement equally just and simple.

EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE to every householder throughout the empire, without distinction—*such householder paying direct taxes*—would be good.

But the great and prime security against *all corruption*—as well by bribery as by terrorism—the very KEYSTONE, as it were, of the ARCH OF PURITY—is the VOTE BY BALLOT. No *honourable*, nor *honest* objection lies against it : and whoever opposes SECRECY OF SUFFRAGE, *would blush to declare his real grounds of objection*.

THE Author of the preceding pages has seen, in manuscript, a pamphlet on the eve of publication, entitled "A LETTER to the GENTLEMEN of ENGLAND, on the present CRITICAL CONJUNCTURE of AFFAIRS." It is anonymous: a circumstance, in these times, much to be regretted, as *honourable and respectable* NAMES are something more than UMBRÆ—and *avail such a début*. Suspicion attaches to A GREAT ROOM, and—the *politics* considered—a *curious quarter* of that Room!—It cannot, however, be too highly recommended, to all who love the CONSTITUTION, and abhor a TYRANNY.

VERS.

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